

LANDSDOWNE'S LETTER AND THE SITUATION IN GERMANY

James W. Gerard Sees No Hope of Teuton Revolution Until Utter Defeat—Need for Awakening of America

By EDWIN C. HILL.

IF the American people are looking for a revolution within the German empire as an early preparation for the peace the world suffers for, they must make up their minds that the Central Powers must first be utterly defeated by military effort.

This is the reasoned opinion of James W. Gerard, who may be supposed to have a keener understanding of the present German mind and of the present German attitude—that of the people as well as that of the Government—than any other American except the President of the United States.

Mr. Gerard is neither a prophet nor the son of a prophet, nor has he any necromancer's art for piercing the veil which destiny mercifully holds before the future as time presses forward; but he himself assumes with all modesty that he is better able to interpret the German mind than, say, any one of his fellow citizens who lightly predicts a political convulsion within Germany as the most likely means of strangling Hohenzollern savagery and ending the war.

His four years of service as Ambassador to the German Empire are his credentials for offering certain opinions which he hopes will correct fallacies that our people, like the British, have clung to with almost pathetic insistence, the principal fallacy being a widespread belief that a rising by the people against Hohenzollern militarism will be the solution of the world's bloody dilemma. It is a notion which might as well be dismissed permanently, Mr. Gerard contends, if it implies that a people's revolt against militarism is at all likely to occur before Prussian power is shattered on the fields of battle.

What America Fights For.

Another fallacy which Mr. Gerard finds to be commonly held is that Germany is starving and must break down militarily for economic reasons. He finds here and there a belief that the German people look toward America with more sorrow than anger, and that only their hosts are really oppressed by the masters of the empire, but it has roots also in the popular feeling that American guns and American bullets killed thousands of Germans while America was still officially neutral.

If there is one side of the war situation about which the former Ambassador feels with especial conviction it is that the American people must come to realize more acutely that the war is their war, for their physical salvation; to save their own homes from the torch and their own wives and children from the horrors that have fallen upon Belgium and northern France. That understanding of the meaning of the war is not nearly as widespread or as deeply realized as it should be, he finds, after studying our public opinion.

In some ways, perhaps, that is the greatest fallacy of all, as Mr. Gerard will point out in his modest way; because there never was a war in history in which a people were more greatly concerned for their own future, nationally and individually; for their happiness and pocketbook for the safety of their children or themselves than this war into which the United States has entered.

T-Boat Attack Likely.

He suggests also that it would be very prudent indeed to anticipate light and vicious attacks upon our coast, most probably by super-submarines armed with guns of more than six inch calibre. Germany, he thinks, is just beginning to comprehend that the United States will soon be a powerful military factor, and she will endeavor to strike here, where she has struck in England, in the hope of terrorizing the Government to keeping much of our strength at home.

These matters and more he discussed in his study the other day, interrupting work upon a book which is likely to prove an interesting example of a cure that must be worked eventually from within, and worked voluntarily. We will save the world by beating Germany, but the Germans must save themselves at the last.

"I earnestly believe that when Germany's armies disintegrate and the weary fighting men go back to their homes, when the people at home realize how vain all of their sacrifices were, when they see how they have been deceived, that they will break up the German mind will then swing upon a pivot, and that almost suddenly will come an understanding of how they have been misled and exploited in the most terrible way by any people have ever been used.

"When that day comes God help the Hohenzollerns! Something more than the French revolution may occur, for there is, as the world now knows, a capacity for savagery and for beastliness in the German nature that exceeds anything revealed by modern times.

"But we must never fail to remember that Germany does not exist in war, and that it is likely to produce internal reform. Germany's whole political structure, the whole system of government, is a bulwark against revolution.

Germany Not Starving.

It is irritating at times to hear the persistent chatter about 'starving Germany.' That is nonsense, criminal nonsense if it interferes with our war resolution and determination. If it is allowed to make us underestimate the terrible nature of the task ahead of us.

"Germany has never been anywhere near starving. She took time by the forelock and systematized the food distribution problem as she systematically did everything. It is perfectly true that rationing was put down so far as the city of Berlin was concerned as

in success, or while they believe, as most of them do wholeheartedly, that their sacrifices keep their fatherland from being shattered by greedy, envious enemies.

"Personally I believe that the national horror and dread of war and war's savagery, the historical and traditional dread, is the foundation in the minds of the people upon which the able and cunning rulers have built. For centuries past Germany was the fighting ground of Europe. The land was overrun and ravaged time and time again. The national instinct to fear invasion and to arm determinedly against any possible invader.

"This explains the constant reiteration by the Kaiser and his advisers of the obvious falsehood that 'the war was forced upon us.' We know that the German Government deliberately sought war—sought it proudly and confidently, as the German Crown Prince told me it would be sought, as the supreme adventure. The German Government went to war because militarism was bursting with its own pride, because scientific reasons demanded a conquest and centralized empire from the North Sea to the East, and because Germany had withered for generations with envy and hatred for free nations.

Prussian Militarism Strong.

"Of course the German people could not be told all this so crudely. The ideas were spread subtly by arousing national pride in 'our invincible brothers in arms,' by picturing the glories and the advantages to humanity of a Central Europe bathed in Kultur and by painting the jealousy and envies of other nations toward Germany.

"That sort of thing has been going on for generations, from the cradle to the grave. When the very babies in the cradles are taught that they are superior mentally and physically to all other babies in the world, what can one expect? When that form of vanity is continued through the various steps of education, when it is reflected by every side of life, when it is deliberately glorified by the Kaiser, when it is sounded from pulp and university rostrum, what other state of mind on the part of the people could possibly result?

"All of this was subtle preparation for war, cold, calculating, greedy, ambitious, loot hunting war; but at the same time it will operate strongly against revolution. Ideas are fully inculcated are hard to uproot by mere reason. Only the terrific shock of military defeat will uproot them. Only the realization that the wonderful German military machine has been smashed will awaken the German people, if they ever awaken, to the realization that has been practiced against them.

"If the President's wonderful message could be distributed among these people a beginning toward reason would be made; but I fear that few indeed of them will be able to study its nobility and promise. The patriotic society has just offered a prize of \$1,000 for the best suggestion as to how to get the President's message before the German people, and I have been asked to serve as judge in awarding the prize. But I confess I do not know how the thing can be done.

Defeat the Only Cure.

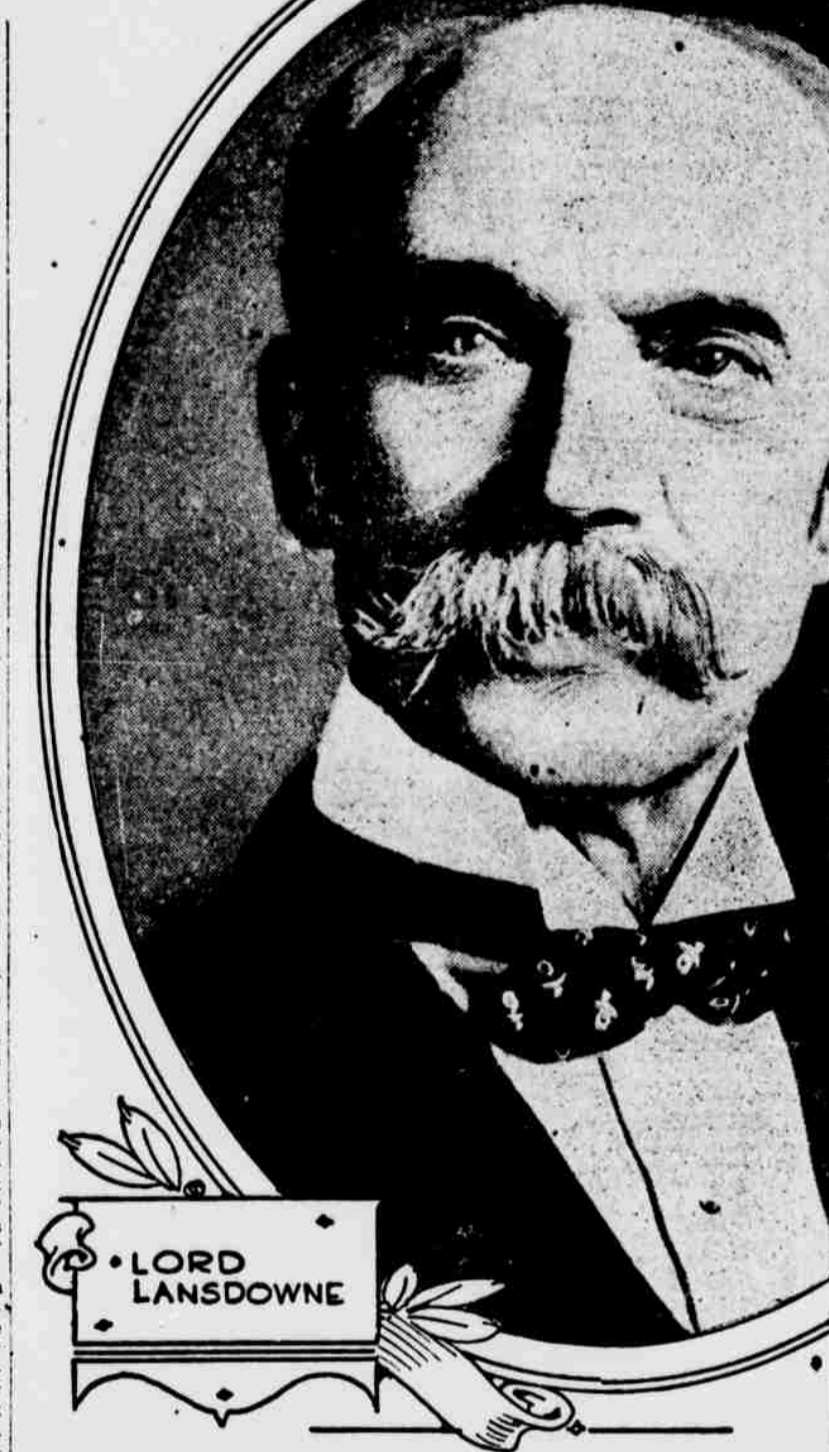
"The poison with which the German people have been infected—that poison of falsehood, of clever misrepresentations, of glittering promises, of fear of invasion—is still potent, and thus I say that revolution is unthinkable. We might just as well get that out of our minds and concentrate on the one sure way of curing Germany of her disease, which is to beat her on the fields of battle.

"Then, when the truth can be got before the German people it will be to them, as the President plainly states in his message. If they want to open their eyes and offer to do justice with the people, the Government has the power as to earn consideration for themselves, the opportunity will be given them. If they don't they will have to endure social and commercial ostracism until they come to their senses.

"Never in the world's history was there so remarkable an example of a cure that must be worked eventually from within, and worked voluntarily. We will save the world by beating Germany, but the Germans must save themselves at the last.

"I earnestly believe that when Germany's armies disintegrate and the weary fighting men go back to their homes, when the people at home realize how vain all of their sacrifices were, when they see how they have been deceived, that they will break up the German mind will then swing upon a pivot, and that almost suddenly will come an understanding of how they have been misled and exploited in the most terrible way by any people have ever been used.

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LORD LANSDOWNE

that the army could have plenty of the best; but no man who knows what is going on can keep up the parrot-like chatter about Germany starving unless he is an utter fool or worse.

"We must not forget that Germany knows something about intensive agriculture. She was a farming nation before she became an industrial leader, and the necessities of the war have compelled her to put into practice all of those intensive farming principles and devices with which she once excelled. It is not too much to say that every foot of soil in the German Empire is made to bear fruit. Every foot is farmed and gardened with a perfectly savage intensity.

"Moreover, Germany has seized and is now farming vast productive tracts in Rumania, in Russia and in northern France and Belgium. She is using not only the subjugated peoples as her farmhands but she is employing her own troops. She is forcing Belgian and French women to slave in the fields.

"When I went to Charleville to confer with the German Chancellor I observed women and girls toiling in the fields under German soldier overseers. Around Lille and many other French cities the German military command seized thousands of peasants and drove them to the fields, carrying out their purpose with the most barbarous conduct. German officials endeavored to divert my attention from these dreadful spectacles and the Chancellor even denied that he had known about the slave edict; but I found, nevertheless, that it was all true.

Would Make America Pay.

"Germany won't be starved out, that's certain, and the sooner we get rid of that notion over here the better it will be for the prosecution of the war. The British have got her by the neck as regards some commodities necessary to manufacture, but even in these essentials she has so maneuvered as to get along after a fashion.

"What the financial conditions will be after the war is difficult to say, but Germany is not bankrupt yet, by any means, and there has been, it seems to me, very clever handling of her financial problems. What she owes she owes largely to herself—that is, by her processes of financing she borrows over and over again from her own people. This burden of debt is enormous and means, unless Germany should happen to win, a crushing imposition in the future upon the taxpayers.

"Very likely an understanding of this is one of the factors that have nerve the German people to carry on. They still cherish the hope that when the war is done, with their Government as victor, they can fine enemy nations heavily enough to meet not only the cost of the war but to return a handsome cash profit; and right there is where we come in.

"I know that it has been said before, but it cannot be said too many times, that millions of eyes in Germany turn speculatively to the riches of America. If Germany should happen to win in the war, nothing is more certain than that she would bring the war to this side. Does any one ask how? By the possession of all the navies except our own, by the possession of vast flotillas of submarines and by millions of veteran troops.

"Germany would possess all of the transports and merchant craft and the transporting of troops would be a problem that her general staff would not find it hard to work out. Best them in Europe if we don't want to tackle the job of beating them in our own land. Our children's children would stage under the burden that Germany would impose.

"One hears a good deal of talk about the doubtful attitude of the German people toward the United States and Americans, doubtful in the sense, it is

said, that perhaps the people themselves do not really hate us. Let me say at the beginning that the German is always hating somebody or something. He must hate to be happy. He began by hating the Russians, then he hated the English and now he hates us with a hate that transcends all of the others. The country is poisoned by vilifiers of America, some of them German Americans who pretend to their fatherland to do us all the harm possible. Government, newspapers and politicians are united in this hatred, and naturally they carry the people along with them.

"I can think of only two writers in all Germany who have shown fair enough and courageous enough to say a good word for this country. One of them is Paul Krause, a son-in-law of Field Marshal von deroltz, and the other is that strange character Maximilian Harden. The Liberal newspapers simply breathe hatred against this country.

"Germans in Germany are not above hating Germans in the United States. For the simple reason that they feel that their countrymen here have not lived up to expectations. Not enough of them went back to fight against England, and not enough of them have been outspoken in their loyalty to their adopted land. Even a rebellion by Germans in America was looked for by many really intelligent Prussians.

If the German armies ever got to our shores we would experience terrible proofs of this hate. What has been done to Belgium and northern France would be nothing compared to what the Germans would do here.

"There is much speculation in these days as to the possibility of German Englishness reaching us in some way, by submarine raids or by airplane bombardments. I cannot pretend to guess what is in the mind of the German military authorities, but I do know that they never miss a chance to strike.

"German raids are unlikely, I believe, because I doubt if planes could be carried on even their big submarines. Of course, it is possible that surface raiders will escape the vigilance of the British and American North Sea patrol and slip over here to indulge in a little frightfulness. Some of these might be able to release a plane for a bombardment of New York city, Boston or some other part of the coast. But I think it more likely that we may have to encounter submarine warfare on this side before many months go by.

Expects Submarine Raid.

"The Germans will wake up to the fact that our troops are moving unimpeded and they may try to strike at the transports from this side. Also, I believe, they may try to shell our coast cities. Their big submarines carry guns of a calibre sufficient to carry to throw shells six or seven miles, and even with our coast defenses a surprise attack might be figured on to cause a lot of damage, although it would be of no real military value.

"Germany attacked England by Zeppelin and airplane because she hoped to terrorize England into keeping an enormous number of airplanes at home and away from the fighting front. It is conjectured that she might seek to overcome the tremendous distance by editorials and magazine articles, by threats and by the use of the arms of the free nations.

"They cannot win because God is against them, as Hugo said of Napoleon at Waterloo, but they will not be beaten by talk, by idle hopes and conjectures, by curses hurled from a distance, by editorials and magazine articles, by threats and by the use of the arms of the free nations.

"Every American must see, soon, if he does not already see, that sacrifice and devotion are imperative from him no matter what his function or status may be. We have got to think as one people and think along lines of fact no matter how hard it may be. The President has come to understand what the task is. He has practically given us a war motto: 'Beat Germany first; save her afterward if she is willing.'

Personality of Marquis Who Urged Peace Precludes Possibility of Any Political Motive—His Wife's Influence Powerful Factor in His Official Life

By F. CUNLIFFE-OWEN.

WITHOUT knowing Lord Lansdowne it is impossible to form any correct judgment of his sensational letter in a recent issue of the London Daily Telegraph. To understand its meaning and the motives that prompted him to write it, personal acquaintance and considerable experience of the Marquis are indispensable.

No one possessed of these would accord the slightest attention to the charges so freely made that its publication was intended as a stab in the back of David Lloyd George, and as a party device to bring about his downfall. Lord Lansdowne has far too lofty a sense of honor, is much too conscientious and also patriotic to be capable of anything of the kind, much as he may have disliked and distrusted the present Premier, even since the latter's Duke-and-Marquis baffling days, and desire his disappearance from public life. Whatever else may be said about the letter it is absolutely sincere, and therefore its contents, though they may fail to convince, are at least deserving of being treated with the respect due to honest opinions.

Never Rated as Brilliant.

Lord Lansdowne has never been rated as a particularly brilliant, or even as a very clever, man. It is an extravagance to describe him as a great statesman, as some of the newspapers have done on both sides of the Atlantic. He was successful as Governor-General of Canada and as Viceroy of India because of his tact; his

being the existing system of the distribution and ownership of land.

Then, too, Lady Lansdowne has lost a favorite son in the war, whose widow, by the way, a daughter of Lord Minto, and at one time a familiar figure in New York and Washington, has since contracted a marriage with Capt. John Jacob Astor of the Royal Horse Guards, younger son of Lord Astor. Lady Lansdowne has likewise been profoundly impressed by the number of families on her husband's estates who have given the lives of their sons and brothers. A leader of English society—indeed, its most influential leader—she has been in a position to observe the cruel havoc made in its ranks by the war.

Lord Lansdowne has been described during the past ten days, not only in the American press, but even in the English newspapers, as a Tory leader. This is scarcely correct. For the Marquis is by family inheritance and tradition a Whig, and has always made his political headquarters, not in the Carlton Club, which is the Tory stronghold, but in the House of Commons. He was associated with Gladstone and according to him his political allegiance until the split in the Liberal camp on Home Rule, when he threw in his lot with the Unionists, along with the late Duke of Devonshire, Joseph Chamberlain and other former associates and colleagues of the Grand Old Man.

It must be admitted, however, that while claiming to be a Whig, the views and prejudices of Lord Lansdowne are in many respects those of the old-fashioned Tories. He prefers the old to the new in political life, as in social intercourse. He entertains the same prejudice against changes, described as reforms, as he does for the new rich and for the parvenus. He is indeed a champion and a deeply representative of the old order.

Approved by Many.

It has been intimated that Lord Lansdowne's letter had the approval of ex-Premier Asquith, and even of George V. While it cannot be denied that the letter has been eulogized and defended by all the various organs of the Asquithian press, it has been hailed with satisfaction by those members of the Liberal and Coalition Cabinets who, like the Marquis, were dropped by Lloyd George when forming his present administration, and was even accorded an expression of sympathy by Herbert Asquith himself at a Liberal meeting held last week. It is, for one moment believe that the King either saw the letter or approved of it before its publication.

In the first place George V. is too honest a sailor and too strictly constitutional a sovereign to thus lend himself to what is really an attack upon his Premier while the latter was absent from England, speaking in the name of the Crown, of the Government and of the people of the British Empire at the Entente congress at Paris.

Moreover, much as the King may respect and personally like Lord Lansdowne, he is just as far from seeing eye to eye with him in political matters as was Edward VII. It must never be forgotten that George V. and his father, not only cronies but political associates, were both of the old school, and that the King, like most monarchs, who keep their oldest sons and eventual successors at a distance, regarding them with jealousy and even aversion, made his very best and most intimate friend of his son, instilling him into all his policies, giving him the benefit of all his political knowledge and experience, and personally training him for his duties and responsibilities as sovereign.

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Thus in order to save the entire Cabinet from disaster he had to be content with Downing street as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. There his policies gave occasion for much popular criticism, as I will show later on in discussing his relations with King Edward. In the summer of 1915 he was included in the Coalition Cabinet as Minister Without Portfolio, thereby forfeiting his position as leader of the Opposition in the House of Lords, but he was not a source of strength to the administration, and when it was reconstituted last winter by David Lloyd George he was left in the cold.

Has a Clever Wife.

Now, while Lord Lansdowne may not be a shining light, he is blessed with a clever wife, and although extremely opinionated and terribly obstinate, he has the good sense to defer to her advice. It may therefore be taken for granted that she not only saw his letter before it appeared, but that she likewise sanctioned its publication. It is this which in the eyes of those who know the Lansdownes gives to the letter a certain authority, which she has allowed it to be issued to the press? It is undoubtedly because she has permitted rather than by the international conditions of the present situation.

Like most of the women of the old territorial aristocracy of Great Britain she regards herself as responsible for the moral as well as for the material welfare of all the people living on her own and on her husband's estates that embrace 400,000 acres. Some of the tenant families have occupied holdings there without interruption for several hundred years, and the attachment between these folk and the Lansdownes is very strong.

Lady Lansdowne realizes that the longer the war lasts the less possibility will there be of the continuance of this sort of kindly feudalism, since economic conditions resulting from the appalling expenditures incurred by the State during the last three years will have the effect of entirely revolutionizing the existing system of the distribution and ownership of land.

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Then, too, Lady Lansdowne has lost a favorite son in the war, whose widow, by the way, a daughter of Lord Minto, and at one time a familiar figure in New York and Washington, has since contracted a marriage with Capt. John Jacob Astor of the Royal Horse Guards, younger son of Lord Astor. Lady Lansdowne has likewise been profoundly impressed by the number of families on her husband's estates who have given the lives of their sons and brothers. A leader of English society—indeed, its most influential leader—she has been in a position to observe the cruel havoc made in its ranks by the war.

Lord Lansdowne has been described during the past ten days, not only in the American press, but even in the English newspapers, as a Tory leader. This is scarcely correct. For the Marquis is by family inheritance and tradition a Whig, and has always made his political headquarters, not in the Carlton Club, which is the Tory stronghold, but in the House of Commons. He was associated with Gladstone and according to him his political allegiance until the split in the Liberal camp on Home Rule, when he threw in his lot with the Unionists, along with the late Duke of Devonshire, Joseph Chamberlain and other former associates and colleagues of the Grand Old Man.

It must be admitted, however, that while claiming to be a Whig, the views and prejudices of Lord Lansdowne are in many respects those of the old-fashioned Tories. He prefers the old to the new in political life, as in social intercourse. He entertains the same prejudice against changes, described as reforms, as he does for the new rich and for the parvenus. He is indeed a champion and a deeply representative of the old order.

Approved by Many.

It has been intimated that Lord Lansdowne's letter had the approval of ex-Premier Asquith, and even of George V. While it cannot be denied that the letter has been eulogized and defended by all the various organs of the Asquithian press, it has been hailed with satisfaction by those members of the Liberal and Coalition Cabinets who, like the Marquis, were dropped by Lloyd George when forming his present administration, and was even accorded an expression of sympathy by Herbert Asquith himself at a Liberal meeting held last week. It is, for one moment believe that the King either saw the letter or approved of it before its publication.

In the first place George V. is too honest a sailor and too strictly constitutional a sovereign to thus lend himself to what is really an attack upon his Premier while the latter was absent from England, speaking in the name of the Crown, of the Government and of the people of the British Empire at the Entente congress at Paris.

Moreover, much as the King may respect and personally like Lord Lansdowne, he is just as far from seeing eye to eye with him in political matters as was Edward VII. It must never be forgotten that George V. and his father, not only cronies but political associates, were both of the old school, and that the King, like most monarchs, who keep their oldest sons and eventual successors at a distance, regarding them with jealousy and even aversion, made his very best and most intimate friend of his son, instilling him into all